1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



and to Mr. Samuel Kekela of Ua Pou. This opportunity is taken also to thank M. Tissot of Ua Pou, MM. Berard and le Brunnec at Atu Ona, Penapena at Haka Hau (Ua Pou), M. Charles Henri at Taio Hae, and all others whose courtesy and interest facilitated the work.

The names of natives who gave information, and others who assisted in one way or another in the work, are too numerous to attempt even to list. To one native, however, is due more than to all the rest—Isaac Puhetete, called Haapuane. This friend should be characterized not merely as an informant but as a co-worker and fellow-student. As a boy he used to sit and listen to the talk of the old men; today he is an expert wood carver (one of a very few who remain), an accepted *tuhuna* (master) of legendary lore, genealogy, chanting. and so on, in Atu Ona, and the organizer and leader of the singing and dancing of the modern Bastile Day celebrations. Another native to whom particular thanks are due is Proiho, of Fatu Hiva, a carver and also a devotee of the fine old native culture; and still another is Tahia-ti'a-koe of Pua Ma'u, who wrote an invaluable manuscript, containing the most important sacred chants, from the dictation of her grandfather, who was a ceremonial priest, and who, with her husband, Pe'ohai, gave much important information regarding certain religious practices.

Most of the details concerning the ancient life and history contained in the following pages came from the memories of those who had themselves seen the things or customs described or who had been told of them. The first necessity for the work was found to be the learning of the native language, which is a dialect of the Polynesian. Most of my information, therefore, came direct—that is, not through the medium of an interpreter. When one is working almost entirely through the memories of informants or, worse yet, through informants who themselves are giving second-hand information, many small errors are bound to creep in. These were avoided as far as possible by continual checking up, comparison, and elimination. It should be said in this connection that the memories of natives who are interested in their own ancient ways are remarkably tenacious and, further, that Marquesans are by no means prone to invent or give false information, particularly when they recognize that their interlocutor is familiar with the culture in general. Informants were carefully chosen, and information was scrupulously weighed. I therefore feel assured that, while there may be small errors in the following account, it is in the main accurate.

The descriptions of the ancient Marquesan life as given here might lead the reader to believe that much more of the ancient culture still exists than can actually be found in the islands today. As a matter of fact only

1: Handy E-5 (1920-1921)1923 OX6 Marquesas OXt



the lingering shreds of the ancient culture remain—survivals of eating habits, of customs connected with adoption, death, and so on. But the genuine ancient culture is completely gone, even beyond the memories of any but a few especially intelligent middle-aged and old people. There are a few old Marquesan thatched houses still standing in different islands, but the rest of the dwellings are small plank houses, generally of two rooms, with corrugated iron roofs, and usually devoid of furniture. (See Pl. 1.) The dress of the natives is entirely of European goods. While *popoi* made of breadfruit is still the staple of their diet, and while cooking is still done in the old way in the cook house, the food is much more European than native on account of the use of canned goods, rice, sugar, coffee and tea, and so on, the ubiquitous kerosene can being the universal cooking utensil. On the other hand, though the natives are Europeanized to the extent of being nominally Christian, there are practically none who have accepted or understood anything more than the barest externals of Catholicism or Protestantism. Though classified by whites as French subjects, they are still in their own minds simply native islanders, their sense of local and racial identity having been in no way fundamentally affected by eighty years of white dominance.

The inhabitants of the Marquesas Islands number today about eighteen hundred, including a handful of whites, and many mixed bloods—for the most part white and Chinese mixtures with the native. Although, according to the reports of early visitors, the natives of these islands were the finest physical specimens in the Pacific in the early days, very few of them today may be classified even as examples of good physique. Exceedingly few are physically sound or free from serious disease of some kind. The whites have brought, and still bring, syphilis, gonorrhea, a type of rapid consumption called by the natives *pakoko*, influenza, and many other minor ailments. Smallpox at one time ravaged two of the northern islands and the Chinese brought leprosy. Degeneration of the native physique is due to these diseases against which the natives have been in no way protected; to liquors, drugs, and tobacco; and to an inactive, listless life with decay of native standards resulting in the breaking down of their whole system of life and thought and the elimination of all their natural avenues for expression—a condition that has been brought about largely by the organized and unorganized forces of white influence. The near disappearance of this people has been and is due to lack of comprehension on the part of whites of all the nations in contact with them; to abuse that the altruism of a few conscientious missionaries has been totally unable to counterbalance, and to the trait in the native character which leads to uncontrolled abandonment to sensory indulgence. (See Pl. II.)

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535 The men frequently danced alone. In other words, there are no figures or formations in the dance—in the Tuamotus and in Tahiti evolutions of the dancers form an important element. The main part for the men

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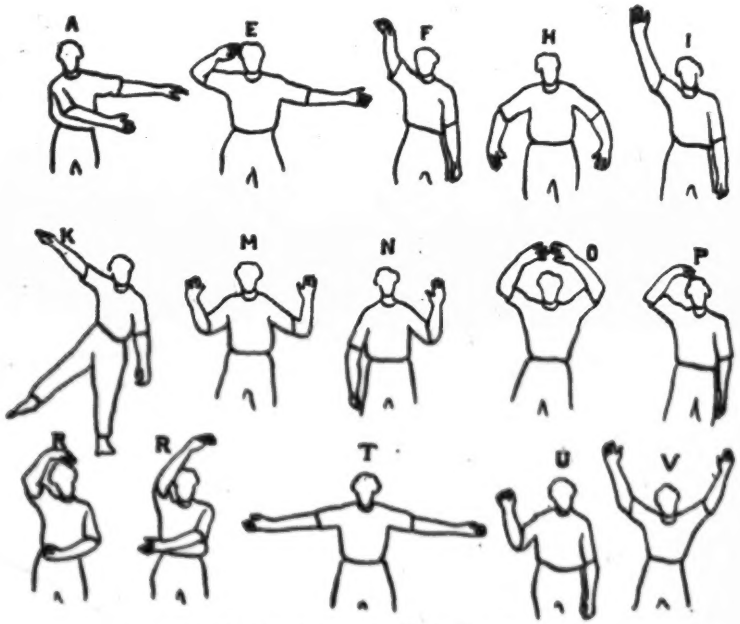


FIGURE 28.—Signal code used in dancing the *tapriata*.

in the Marquesas consists in leg and arm movements expressing the letters of a code of signaling which is really the basis of the dance (see fig. 28). How the natives came by this code I have not been able to determine. It was probably learned from French soldiers or sailors stationed in the Marquesas, or perhaps from other sailors or from Tahitians who had picked it up in some way. The women's part consists in standing in one spot, holding the shoulders and head absolutely motionless while the hips and abdomen, which are thrust forward, are swayed rapidly from side to side, the hands being used occasionally for slight gestures.

535 [534] The accompaniment consists of a rapid rhythmical drumming with two sticks on a large kerosene can or tin pan. Every dance has its particular drummed accompaniment. First the drummer (or drummers), seated on the ground, begins the accompaniment. After a moment of

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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# MUSIC IN POLYNESIA

BY E. S. CRAIGHILL HANDY

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There is perhaps no other of the important aspects of the old Polynesian civilization, now so rapidly being transformed by the imported habits and ideas of our own culture, that is less known, even to the foreigners who have lived in the midst of the native peoples for years, than the music and singing. This is due to a number of causes: lack of interest and appreciation on the part of most foreigners, and sensitiveness on the part of natives; intentional suppression of the native music by missionaries in some of the islands; and the substitution for it of religious singing from church hymnals, sometimes as a matter of compulsion by the missionaries, but to a large extent also as a result of the deliberate choice of the natives in the islands where they have turned to Christian worship with the impetuous enthusiasm so characteristic of the Polynesian temperament and quite comprehensible in consideration of the relief it must have brought to the mass of the people whose privileges were few and obligations and dangers many under the old system of tapu. It is perhaps not surprising that foreign residents in the various islands know little concerning the native music; anyone who has resided in out-of-the-way parts of the world where white traders, settlers, and missionaries are living in the midst of native populations realizes that only in exceptional instances is any interest taken in the life of the natives, and then it is apt to be rather desultory, and, unfortunately often critically condescending. If native music in the Pacific is of interest at all for the average foreigner, it is only for the sake of occasional entertainment; and at such times many of our race whose ears are attuned only to the harmonies of their own lands are inclined to concur with Captain Cook who wrote in Tahiti, after being "entertained with a Consort of Musick," that "the Music and Singing was so much of a piece that I was very glad when it was over." Perhaps today our musical senses are more cosmopolitan than were those of the great English navigator who was on the whole so appreciative of the Polynesians, for many travellers interested in music who pass through the islands attest their appreciation of the musical value of the ancient songs and chants that are occasionally performed.

What is more surprising than the ignorance of the world in general concerning the Polynesian music is the fact that the important place held by music and singing in the native culture has been, up to this time, wholly overlooked by students of the native life. Music, of course, can not be recorded, or even described with any degree of accuracy by anyone but

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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chanted by the rowers and passengers in the great whale-boats used for travel by sea.

It is well known that chanting accompanied many kinds of labor in the ancient days in Polynesia—the Maoris, for instance, chanted and moved their bodies in rhythm as they planted; and the Marquesan tattooer chanted continuously as he tapped his designs into his subject's skin. There is every reason to suppose, therefore, that canoe songs were very generally used in ancient times, to accompany and strengthen the rhythm of the paddlers.

## CHANTING IN THE MARQUESAS

In a musical sense the natives of the Marquesas are strangely parodoxical. In comparison with other Polynesians they appear to be lacking in the ability to learn and adapt foreign music—a talent characteristic of the people of most, if not all, of the other islands. Yet no Polynesian people employed music more continuously. In fact, it is scarcely conceivable that any people could give singing a more prominent place in their culture than did the Marquesans of olden times, for chanting or singing accompanied practically every activity in their life, and formed the central feature of most of their rites and festivities. Examples in the native dialect of stanzas of about twenty-five different types of chants used for different purposes or upon different occasions, each doubtless having its peculiar mode of performance, were collected on Hivaoa. In addition to these, some of which he also mentions, Dordillon[4] gives more than fifty names of chants—most of which he defines as "kinds of chants"—this to me seems to indicate that these are names for types of chants rather than names of single songs. To name a chant, a Marquesan combined the term for the type of chant with the name of the person it belonged to or the person or thing it was about: thus the Nani o Kae (Pretty Song of Kae), the Ru'u Tohu'i (Overturning Ru'u), and the Pu'e no One-u'i (Growing-Spell of Dark-earth).

[552]

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Their many different types of chants for various occasions, and their mode of choral singing, indicate clearly that the Marquesans had elaborate and thoroughly systematized musical conventions of their own; and the nature of the melodies, as Miss Winne points out (p. 28), certainly is indicative of a considerable development of musical sense. The fact that the Marquesans do not take naturally to our music as do other Polynesians would seem to prove among other things that inability of a people to adapt themselves to European music is not necessarily indicative of lack of musical sense or instincts; or, to put it another way, that ability to learn European

[4] Dordillon, I. R., Grammaire et dictionnaire de la langue des Iles Marquises, Paris, 1904.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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music is not the only criterion of musical sense. The inadaptibility of the Marquesans to our music is directly in line with their evident inability to assimilate European culture or any important elements in it, which apparently results from pride and independence of character, and an intense love of their own ways of living.

Individuals sang alone when they chanted spells, or as they accompanied work with a song; priests sometimes intoned the sacred chants alone; and it is probable that a type of love song, called *uta*, of which every individual possessed one of his own, was sometimes sung alone, though it appears usually to have been performed by a chorus. It is the choral singing, however, that distinguishes Marquesans as a musical people. The records of the melodies of a few of the choral chants presented in this paper can give little suggestion of what must have been their effect when sung, with the energy characteristic of the Marquesans, by many voices to the accompaniment of clapping and drums.

When the head of a family or tribe desired to have a song or songs prepared for some festivity, the first step was to employ an adept (*tuhuna*) skilled in composition and teaching. The composer retired into seclusion to evolve from his mind the verses and melody. Sometimes a small house (*oho au*) was especially built for him by his employer, who supplied him with food during the time that he was thus working alone. After his compositions were ready, the next step was the assembling and teaching of the chorus that was to perform them. For teaching the tapu chants for important occasions, a special house was built to accommodate the singers. They dwelt in the singing house, were not allowed any indulgence of their sexual instincts, and were fed by the family for whom the chant was being prepared. The composer himself taught his chants to the chorus, all members of which, like the teacher, were subject to certain restrictions during the period of training. The type of chant determined the nature of the chorus. For example: the *pipine*, performed in honor of a maiden, was sung by a chorus of young girls; the *ravi* and *uhaki*, recreational and funeral songs, respectively, by mixed choruses; the *nato* by a chorus of men of all ages; and the *pu'e*, the solemn creational chant, by old men. Every chorus had a leader (*kahua*), a man or a woman with a strong voice and musical ability, who started and directed the singing.

In the native nomenclature three voices (*eo*) are distinguished: *a'o* deep; *vuvena*, medium (literally, "middle"); and *ma una*, high (literally, "on top"). There are these three voices for both men and women, corresponding roughly, no doubt, to bass, baritone, and tenor; and to contralto, mezzo-soprano, and soprano. Registers between these are designated descriptively, as *ma una o te eo i vuvena*, just above the medium voice;

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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Gracia,[21] one of the first Catholic missionaries, testifies to the impressiveness of the ancient choral chants in these words:

> The most dignified member of the troupe intones his chant or hymn, which he has composed, or which he composes at the moment; it often consists in only two or three words, repeated with an unbelievable majesty. As soon as he sings, all the others follow him in the same tune, which is on only two or three notes, but which is as solemn as any music in the world. At the same time, the measure is beaten with great blows of the flat of the hand by two or three vigorous fellows, on drums five feet high. . . . Nearby it is only a heavy noise giving the effect of a bass in a concert; but at a distance it is a powerful and grave sound which is heard at least half a league away. Whole nights are passed in such chanting, often part of a day, and sometimes a whole week or more, when it is a part of a festival of major importance, such as one to influence the gods in favor of a war, or to save a high chief from death. I have often been present at these chants, at which the only part taken by the assembly as a whole was by a mournful silence and a respectful mien, all being seated with crossed legs, . . . as were the chanters themselves, and I assure you that I have never seen anything more impressive and majestic.

The chants referred to by both these writers were probably religious recitations of the same type as the *pu'e*.

## RECREATIONAL CHANTS

### RU'U

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*Ru'u* is the term applied in the northern islands of the Marquesas group to the kind of love song that is called *nani* in the southern islands. The *ru'u* (melodic figure 1) was heard on the island of Uahuka and was at first supposed to be Marquesan in origin as the nature of the melody and mode of singing are identical with that of the *nani* on Hivaoa. It was later discovered, however, that one of the singers who performed it, himself a native of Paumau, Hivaoa, had learned the song in the Tuamotu Islands and had taught it to the singers of Hane, Uahuka. About two and a half years after this, while being entertained by a group of Tuamotu singers in Tahiti, this *ru'u* was sung to a woman from Takaroa who instantly recognized the air. After a moment's thought she said it came from the island of Pukapuka. This was a most interesting remark in view of the fact that Pukapuka is one of several small atolls in the Tuamotus which lie nearest to the Marquesas, and that its dialect is known to differ from that of the western Tuamotus to such an extent as to make it difficult for a man from Rangiroa, for instance, to understand one from Pukapuka. Near Pukapuka, its people speaking the same dialect, is Napuka, which is known in Hivaoa as an island to which a number of refugees, defeated in war on Hivaoa, had been blown on rafts of bamboo. The whole group of facts concerning the song, therefore, furnish striking illustration of several points: connection between the northeastern Tuamotu

[21] Gracia, Mathias (Le P.), Lettres sur les Iles Marquises, pp. 64-65, Paris, 1843.

2: Handy & Winne E, R-5, 4 (1920-1921)1925
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islands and the Marquesas; the transmission of a melody from one group of islands to another, which is of course occurring continually nowadays; and lastly, the intricate difficulty of discovering ultimate origins of some cultural elements even within Polynesia itself.

The song was performed on Uahuka in the following manner:

Two lines of men faced each other, each man resting in a semi-squatting position on the left knee, with his right elbow on his right knee, and his chin resting on his right hand. A line of girls sat in the space between the two lines of men, sang also and accompanied the singing with slow graceful movements of the hands and upper body, the motions being always in unison, and illustrating in vague pantomime the words of the song. One of the men led off always with the first line and refrain, after which the whole group joined in. The very simple harmonization which is illustrated in melodic figure 1 is intentional and more or less fixed. The two parts were repeated as written a number of times, separately and together, by the man and the woman who assisted in writing down the strains. The informants stated, further, that when there was a large group the women sang three different parts but the men only the one. The singing was slow and quiet, the whole effect being one of subdued meditation.

The first occasion of my hearing the *ru'u*—by a group of young friends who, one moonlight night, gathered before our house in Hane—was a most affecting and memorable one.

### NANI (RARI)

Most *nani* were composed in honor of a young woman, the words having indirect reference to her. But the song Nani o Kae (melodic figure 2) concerns itself with a legendary subject. The performance of this *nani* was witnessed at Atuona on the island of Hivaoa. The women sat facing the observers, accompanying the song with motions of the upper body and arms. The men were seated in a line at right angles to the several lines of women. This type of song used to be intoned by the group standing. There was no accompaniment for the *nani*, either of clapping or with drums. One woman, referred to as the *kahua*, sang the first line alone, whereupon all joined in. The men's and women's voices appeared to be in unison for the most part, but with occasional simple harmonization. The only place where the harmonization (if it may be so called) was particularly noted, was on the sustained final syllable of both verse and refrain. Here all, both men and women, commenced the syllable in unison, but on the second beat some of the men raised their voices one tone, producing a dissonance which was evidently agreeable to their ears, since the same thing was repeated each time. This furnishes an interesting contrast with the *ru'u* heard on Uahuka, in which the men's voices were dropped and held a tone below the tonic at the end of the first verse.

It will be noticed by students acquainted with the dialects of Polynesia that many Tahitian words occur in the text of this song, intermingled with

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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648 terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

## CHAPTER XVI.

### *Madison's Island—Religious Ceremonies, Customs, &c.*

177 648 241 HAVING now nothing to occupy me but the refitting my ship, which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zealander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tie ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seed, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats; and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

5: Porter T-5 (1812-1814)1823
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293 perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, toa, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance.

## CHAPTER XVII.

### *Fruit—Departure from the Island.*

177 Pine apples, of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cul-
241 tivation, and the castor-oil bean, are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabbooed spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as
797 Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship; that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants? The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah
829 were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully pursuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



## CANOES

501 [177] For convenience in description, Marquesan canoes may be considered as of two main classes, modern forms, all of which show more or less European influence; and ancient, or genuine, Marquesan forms. The modern canoes are of two sorts, small fishing canoes and the form called by the natives *vaka poti* (literally, canoe boat), which is a hybrid of the European boat and the native canoe. Only two types of ancient canoe are remembered by the present natives, a small fishing canoe closely resembling the modern one, and a large war canoe. Double canoes, as described by informants, cannot be said to constitute a distinct type. Porter (49), who gives a very good account of the canoes used in Nuku Hiva at the time of his visit in 1813, describes a third type, all memory of which seems to have been lost. He also mentions a form of large double canoe used for long voyages.

### MODERN CANOES

#### FISHING CANOES

501 396 Small fishing canoes are still in constant use throughout the Marquesas. Their structure and method of manufacture may be described as follows:

[824] They range from twelve to eighteen feet in length with a beam of one foot to eighteen inches and a depth of about eighteen inches. The body of the canoe is hewn from a single log of breadfruit wood which is usually peeled and allowed to season for a time before shaping, but the making of some canoes begins as soon as the tree is felled. The shaping of the outside is completed before the excavation is begun. When the log has been roughly excavated with an ordinary steel axe, a short handled adz with a semicircular cutting edge is used to complete the dressing. The natives are remarkably expert in the use of these adzes, and the cuts left by them are as regular as though made by machinery, even on surfaces that will later be rubbed smooth. The outside of the canoe is rubbed down with sand paper after shaping until all the adz marks are obliterated. In the finished body, the sides are three-quarters of an inch to an inch thick, and the bottoms are from an inch to an inch and a half thick. The sides run parallel for most of the length, beginning to taper inward two to three feet from either end. The bow and stern are indistinguishable, the bottom curving up for about one-third the depth of the body and passing imperceptably into a straight cutwater. After the body is completed, two holes are bored through each side directly opposite about two inches below the gunwale edge and about three feet from the bow and from the stern. Round pieces of hard wood about three-quarters of an inch in diameter and seven inches long are then driven through these holes forming plugs which are used in the attachment of the outrigger. Two half-inch planks, four to six inches in width, are then placed outside the body, their lower edges resting upon the projecting plugs, and are gradually bent inward at either end, following the curve of the body, until they meet at the bow and stern. The ends of these planks are sawn diagonally to make the joint as tight as possible. These planks are nailed to the body of the canoe and to each other. Small triangular pieces of plank, resting upon the top of the dugout underbody, are usually inserted at bow and stern, forming a short deck at either end. Ordinary commercial hard pine is used for these and for the side planks. No caulking is used; the joints between the body and the sides planks are sealed with several coats of paint.

All canoes are provided with outriggers. The form now in use, which has replaced the original form throughout the group, is known to be the invention of a mulatto who settled in the valley of Tahuku, Hiva Oa, a few years ago. The rapid dissemination of this invention

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



*Vaka poti* are rarely if ever used for inter-island voyages as most of the villages possess whale boats, which are more suitable for such trips. The natives, however, make fairly long coasting voyages in the *vaka poti*. They keep as close in shore as possible, rowing along the edge of the breakers in the narrow belt of comparatively calm water caused by the backwash from the cliffs. Even when there are large bays along the route they prefer to skirt the shore rather than to cut straight across. This custom of lying close inshore no doubt accounts in part for the indifferent way in which the boats are sailed. When the wind is astern the sheet is paid out on the side away from the outrigger, and as there is no way of reefing in case of a strong wind it is necessary for the occupants of the canoe to lean far out on the outrigger side or even climb out on the outrigger frame to keep the boat from capsizing. When the wind is on the port quarter the sheet is paid out on the outrigger side, but it is dangerous to sail this way as a sudden puff may drive the outrigger under and capsize the boat. When the wind is abeam the natives lower sail and row out against it for some distance, then spread sail and come in at a long slant with the wind on the quarter, repeating the maneuver whenever they get too close to the coast. They do not seem to understand tacking, and never sail except with a following wind.

## ANCIENT CANOES

### THE DUGOUT

Two ancient types of canoe are remembered by the natives, a small fishing canoe, and a built up war canoe. The small canoe is said to have been a simple dugout, identical with the modern fishing canoes already described except that it lacked the plank gunwales and had an outrigger of the ancient form (p. 309). Porter (49), who mentions these canoes, says that they were "commonly nothing more than the hollowed keels of the large ones after the upper works have been taken off." They appear to have been used only around the harbors, all longer voyages being made in canoes of the built up type.

### BUILT UP CANOES

Large built up canoes have been obsolete for many years, as the Marquesans were quick to see the superiority of the European small craft and soon learned to imitate them. Even in 1838 Du Petit-Thouars (48, p. 348) says that the ancient canoes had been largely replaced by whale boats which the natives obtained from passing ships. Small built up canoes have, however, continued in use until comparatively recent times and a seaworthy example is still to be seen on the island of Fatu Hiva. The form of these smaller craft is well remembered by many living persons and from their descriptions, the numerous early

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



ventional difference in the method of straining the two substances, kava being squeezed with one hand only while coconut milk is wrung out with both hands.) [412 252]

Copra, the dried kernel of the coconut, although not a food, plays an important part in Marquesan domestic economy. The old method of copra making was as follows: 412 245

The ripe nuts were husked and broken into two equal halves by the methods just described. These halves were tied together, back to back, by wisps of the husk left attached to them for the purpose. They were then hung up high enough to be out of the reach of pigs and left until the kernel was partly dry and had begun to separate from the shell. The meat was then removed with a special tool made of *toa* wood.

These tools (Pl. LVI, *D*) have a smoothly tapering handle whose outer end is pointed, and a flat or slightly concave blade which curves upward toward its tip. In length they range from 10 to 14 inches and in blade width from 1½ to 2¼ inches. In modern copra making these wooden knives have been largely replaced by tools having an iron blade of somewhat similar form. [177]

Tree cotton appears to have been introduced into the Marquesas in post-European times and the appliance used to separate the fiber of this tree from the seeds is probably an introduction (Pl. LVI, *F*). There is some uncertainty on this point, however, and it seems well to describe the tool as though it were a Marquesan invention. [248] [177]

The instrument consists of a straight piece of fau wood about 20 inches long and ⅜ of an inch in diameter whose lower end is split into four equal parts. Two slivers of bamboo, each about four inches long, are placed in the splits at right angles to each other about two inches above the tip of the shaft and lashed with thin string. The tips of the bamboo and of the splints of the shaft are sharply pointed. To use the implement the lower end is placed in a mass of mixed fiber and seeds and the shaft twirled rapidly back and forth between the palms until a mass of fiber has collected around the points. This clear fiber is then removed and the process repeated until only the seeds remain. It should be remarked that the seeds of tree cotton are not covered with lint and separate from the fiber much more readily than the seeds of the commercial cotton.

## MISCELLANEOUS DOMESTIC IMPLEMENTS

Digging sticks were employed in agriculture, also in digging earth ovens and *ma* pits. They appear to have been simply poles four to five feet long made of some hard wood, *toa*, *kookuu*, and *piapiau* being the species preferred. The shaft was about three inches in diameter and was sharpened at the lower end into a broad flat edge. In view of the close resemblance between Marquesan stilt steps and the foot rests of Maori digging sticks, it seems rather curious that the Marquesans never hit upon this simple improvement. Digging sticks are no longer used in the group, and no information was obtained as to their exact method of use. 412 [824]

Before the introduction of iron, bamboo knives were used for cutting a variety of soft non-fibrous substances. These knives are now obsolete and no specimens were collected.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



One specimen was described as having a very short loop of cord passed through a large ring of carved bone, which served for suspension. In very large feast bowls the handle was made of a heavy plaited cord of coconut fiber whose ends were attached at two points, four to five inches apart. Such handles were usually encased in a series of bone tubes, made from the small bones of the lower arm or leg. These were similar to the tubes used on the cord handles of coconut shell bowls. The native name of these tubes was not ascertained but according to Handy (32) Dordillon gives a term, *vipoo*, which he defines as "a piece of bone to ornament dishes or drums." It seems probable that this refers to the small carved figures rather than the simple corrugated rings, for the rings were not used on drums so far as could be learned. It is rather interesting that the large feast bowls had handles on the side only, indicating that the handles were used to suspend or drag them, not to carry them. 415 [531]

Wooden handles, cut in one piece with the bowl, are very rare in the circular forms—only three examples were found.

In one of these specimens there are four small, equally spaced projections a short distance below the rim. These projections are carved into peculiar little double figures, and as the rest of the bowl is uncarved the projections are probably intended for ornament, although they could have been used for handles.

Another bowl seen in a native household, had a flat handle about six inches long projecting from one side of the rim. The shape of this handle was identical with that of an ordinary American frying pan, and it seems probable that this development was due to European influence. Still another bowl (Pl. LIX, *E*) now in the Bishop Museum, is egg shaped rather than round. [177]

It is a rather deep well-made bowl, 9 inches wide and 10½ inches long to the base of the handle. The handle springs from one side of the rim and is 3⅛ inches long and an inch wide in the center. The outer end is expanded both laterally and vertically, and the tip has a deep vertical notch. The whole handle has very much the shape of the distal end of a human humerus, and may very well have been modeled after one.

It seems probable that covers were employed with some types of round bowl other than the *hue po'o* just described, but if so their use has been discontinued for many years and no examples have been preserved or described.

Some round bowls, especially those of recent manufacture, are provided with low circular bases. A similar feature is found in certain tureen-like oval forms (p. 365). Most of the natives believe that this feature is a recent innovation, copied from the Chinese rice bowls introduced by European traders. On the other hand, a very beautifully carved bowl in the possession of Mme. Mallius, of Ta'aoa, Hiva Oa, shows this feature, although it is obviously an old specimen. It seems probable, therefore, that if the circular base is non-Marquesan it was introduced during the early period of contact. [177]

The transition from round bowls to the oval and rectangular forms appears to be a gradual one, every step being represented by a few examples. No. 1 shown on Plate LX, *A*, is especially interesting in this connection as it has all the features of an ordinary round bowl except that the rim is slightly flattened on

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



Oval dishes and trays are now obsolete, but seem formerly to have been rather common. They were of all sizes; examples as much as five feet in length are remembered. Smoothly rounded inside and out, they had no distinct sides. Some specimens showed a distinct flat rim. In a large specimen of this type in the Bishop Museum one end of the rim bears a short upward projection cut into two levels, like steps, but as no examples of this were seen in the group its purpose was not ascertained. (See Pl. LX, *C*.)

Stewart (59, pp. 331-332) speaks of a large trough "rudely sculptured at one end into a head gaping hideously, as if to devour all who approach," which he saw in a *me'ae* of Nuka Hiva. At the time of his visit it contained a decaying human sacrifice. Very large oval bowls with tight fitting covers are also mentioned by early visitors, but no examples appear to have survived.

Small oval bowls having at one end a projecting neck terminating in a knob, and at the other a flat tipped projecting tail flush with the rim, appear to have been rather common in ancient times. In one specimen of this type (Pl. LXI, *B*, 1) which was found in a burial cave and is probably pre-European, the knob is carved into a fine tiki head, directed forward and slightly upward, and the lower side of the neck is encircled by a row of small perforations which were probably intended for the attachment of hair or feather ornaments. In another specimen (No. 2 in the same illustration), also old, the outer end of the knob is pointed and its upper surface is carved into a legless tiki whose face is nearly horizontal. This specimen has on either side a short distance below the rim, a horizontal flange, the whole form being obviously a modification of a bird effigy. Two holes for the attachment of cords are drilled near the tips of the knob and of the tail. The relation between the bowls of this type and the bodies of the boxes (p. 359) is evident, and it is difficult to determine to which class some specimens belong.

The collections of the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, contain an elaborately carved bowl having at either end a flat projecting handle. A similar specimen with the handles carved into grotesque heads is figured by Christian (10, p. 148). Both specimens are obviously recent work, probably made for sale. There is no reason to suppose, however, that they were copied from any European form, a point of importance in our consideration of the next type.

Marquesan utensils having an oval body, a low round base placed centrally, and a projecting knob handle at either end, are quite common in collections (Pl. LXI, *A*). They are frequently provided with a domed cover having upon its center a knob handle, and are always elaborately carved. The resemblance of many of these utensils to European soup tureens is striking, and old

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



415 European residents of the group and many natives believe that they were copied
177 from them. Other natives declare that the form is ancient. In view of the containers mentioned in the preceding paragraph it seems most probable that this type has been developed from an aboriginal one by the addition of a base and that the obvious resemblance of the resulting utensil to a soup tureen has given rise to the belief that the European utensil was copied entire. The question of the occurrence or non-occurrence of a base in primitive Marquesan utensils is of considerable ethnological interest, but the native evidence is conflicting and very few really old utensils have been preserved. In view of the practical absence of this feature elsewhere in Polynesia it seems safest to ascribe it to European influence.

415 Legged containers appear to be entirely absent in the Marquesas, the nearest approach being a low transverse flange carved near either end of the bottom. This feature was observed in only one specimen, and there is good reason to believe that it was not aboriginal. In view of the importance of utensils with legs in the Society Islands and their occasional occurrence in Hawaii, their absence in the Marquesas is rather curious.

Two bowls of unusual form are shown on Plate LXI, *C*. No. 1 seems to be an imitation of a long cupped leaf, the short upturned handle representing the stem. In both specimens there is a deep channel at the smaller end evidently intended to direct the flow of the fluid in pouring. In No. 1 this channel ends in a well marked lip. The interior of No. 2 is coated with *kava* enamel and it is probable that both were used as *kava* bowls.

An end channel similar to that in No. 2 is a common feature of the large four-legged Tahitian bowls, while bowls with lips were occasionally made by the Maori. Elsewhere in Polynesia these features appear to be rare or lacking.

## COMPARISON OF CONTAINERS

415 A comparison of Polynesian containers could not fail to throw a great
171 deal of light on the relations of the different groups, but anything like a satisfactory study is impossible at present. Regions in which the containers are poorly made or undecorated are often entirely unrepresented in Museums, while many others are represented by two or three specimens at most. Under the circumstances it is only possible to point out a few obvious similarities and differences. Long oval boxes with covers were numerous in the Marquesas and New Zealand, but appear to have been unknown in Hawaii and Western Polynesia. Round boxes with tight fitting covers are found throughout Western Polynesia and in Hawaii, but are lacking in the Marquesas and New Zealand. They appear to have been rare in Hawaii, and it seems safe to assign the long

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



203 824 banana stumps were beaten until the soft parts and fiber separated. The fiber was cleaned, washed and dried, and then rolled into cord by the process just described for pineapple fiber. The only remembered use of this cord was in the making of *pehe* or string figure.

Jardin (33, pp. 32-59) mentions the use of certain other fiber plants. No accounts of these were obtained from the natives but the information appears to be reliable. The species are: *pakoko* (*Phaseolus amaenus*) of which Jardin says (33), "The flower shoots are very flexible; the natives make from them lines for catching fish;" *papa*, an unidentified legume, which, according to Jardin, "serves like the *phaseolus amaenus* for the making of threads;" and *pute* (*Pipturus propinquus*) of which the same author says, "The natives use its branches, which are very flexible, to make large ropes."

Other materials, which can scarcely be classed as fiber, were tapa, and a variety of long grass, unidentified, called by the natives *mauomatito ne tetahia*. The tapa was sometimes twisted into strings for the suspension of ornaments, but had so little tensile strength that it was usually reinforced with a strand of coconut fiber about which the tapa was wound. Strips of grass are said to have been plaited into cords which were used by girls in a game, but no more exact information could be obtained.

204 177 A discussion of knots and splices belongs under the general head of cordage and fiber, but it is quite impossible to distinguish at the present time between native forms and those of European origin. The Marquesas became at a very early time a regular port of call for whalers and a number of the natives served and still serve as sailors on European ships. It is not surprising, therefore, that they soon acquired a knowledge of all the European knots and splices and have for many years used them as skillfully as any white sailor.

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



by a tongue about five-sixteenths of an inch wide, made of the inner layers of the bamboo, which acts upon the same principle as the reed of a clarionet. This tongue is placed just below the septum and as it has a tendency to stick, one or two hairs are often drawn across under it at the bottom. There are usually three stops, but in rare instruments four may be present. These stops are placed at equal intervals, the distances between them corresponding to the distance from the lowest stop to the bottom of the flute. The actual distances between stops vary in different flutes, but the regular spacing seems to be a constant feature. In observing the process of manufacture it was noted that the distances were measured by the width of the first two fingers of the right hand. Unlike those of nose flutes the stops of the *puakahau* were always cut (not burned) out. 534

A curious form of *puakahau* (Pl. LXXIII, *C*) for which there seems to have been no special name, was made from two pieces of bamboo one of which fitted accurately inside the other.

The larger piece, which formed the upper end of the flute, was closed, and was provided with a tongue. The stops were cut in the smaller piece. The section bearing the stops could be slid in and out, varying the pitch of the instrument. A flute of this sort was tuned to harmonize with another of ordinary type when the two were to be played together.

Some *puakahau* were made of two, or even three, pieces of bamboo which fitted together closely. Such instruments could not be tuned but they might be taken to pieces and carried in a small space.

Players of the *puakahau*, as of the nose flute, began by mastering one stop before attempting to use more. *Puakahau* are still occasionally used for dances, but in recent times have been employed principally by the men in courting. In former times there are said to have been regular *puakahau* orchestras, composed of as many as twelve men, who were trained to play together. Such orchestras took part in fetes and dances, but it is doubtful whether they were employed in religious ceremonies.

## WHISTLES

Bamboo whistles are still used by the children as toys, but they agree so closely with European whistles in shape and principle that it seems doubtful whether they are aboriginal (Pl. LXXIII, *A*). [124] [177]

Whistles are made from a section of bamboo eight to twelve inches long and about one inch in diameter. The lower end is closed by the septum of the joint while the upper end is cut at a long angle and plugged with a piece of wood cut exactly like the plug in an ordinary wooden whistle. A hole is cut in the side of the bamboo just below the inner end of this plug.

The Marquesans occasionally use a hybrid wind instrument, half whistle and half flute, which the natives believe to be aboriginal, but the type appears to be very rare. The upper end of this instrument is identical with that of the whistle, but three stops, like those of the *puakahau*, are cut in the lower part of the tube. In the specimen illustrated (Pl. LXXIII, *B*), two of the three stops have been plugged with cloth.

The following names for flutes have been recorded by Handy, or compiled by him from Dordillon's Dictionary:

7: Linton E-5 (1920-1921) 1923 OX6 Marquesas OX6



292 ment was thus held rigid, reducing the danger of breakage. It was then rolled in several thicknesses of tapa. When the teeth in a wreath had become yellow or dirty they
237 were scoured with fine sand.

321 A curious type of headdress (*packaha*) is shown on Plate LXXXI, *A*. Its manufacture appears to have been limited to Hiva Oa, Tau Ata and Fatu Hiva. It apparently was not made in Ua Pou (Handy) nor in Nuku Hiva, although ornaments of this sort, obtained in trade, were sometimes worn in Nuku Hiva during the early historic period. Some informants of Hiva Oa say that it was not worn in Hiva Oa in ancient times, and ascribe it to Fatu Hiva.

The *packaha* consists of a number of plaques of shell and tortoise shell which are attached to a band of woven coconut fiber. The warp strands run longitudinally, the weft strands passing back and forth across the band in a wrap weave. The direction of the wrapping is changed at regular intervals, producing an ornamental banded effect. The edges of the band are re-inforced by cords somewhat heavier than the regular warp strands, and its ends are finished in stiff loops. The form and weaving of the band is shown on Plate LXXXI, *C*. The outer surface of the band was originally covered with small discs of mother of pearl about the size of shirt buttons. A small toothed disc of tortoise shell was fastened to the center of each pearl disc. Machine made buttons of china and shell were introduced [177] by the traders at an early time, and soon supplanted the old pearl discs on these headdresses. The ends of the band were covered by pearl shell plates, overlaid with thin openwork strips of tortoise shell. The form and ordinary design of these plates can be seen on Plate LXXXI, *A*. The end plates were called *kaua*, the small discs, *kaua momo* (Handy).

The plaques, which form the principle part of the ornament, were fastened to the lower edge of the band. There seems to have been no fixed rule as to the number of plaques, but more than seven tortoise shell and eight shell plaques were rarely employed. They were attached to the band by coconut fibers passed through small holes drilled at their tops, and were fastened together near the lower ends in the same way. The shell plaques were made from large conch or Triton shells, and were highly polished on all surfaces. They were made from the lower end of the shell and preserved its natural curve. The tortoise shell plaques were two or three times as wide as the shell plaques, and were elaborately carved. The decoration usually consisted of a large highly conventialized human figure in the center, with panels of superposed smaller figures or designs on either side. A narrow band of designs ran across the lower end. The paces on each side of the head of the large central figure were pierced. In a few specimens the central figure was replaced by two smaller figures, but the examples shown on Plate LXXXI, *A, B* may be taken as typical. The most curious feature of this decoration is that, when the ornament was on the head, the figures were all upside down. This lends some support to the statement of one informant that the *packaha* was originally worn with the plaques above instead of below the band, although all natives agree that in historic times it was worn with the plaques inverted.

The tortoise shell plaques were bent outward at the bottom, their curve conforming roughly to that of the shell plaques. When the ornament was on the head the lower edge flared outward over the eyes, like the visor of a cap. Many of the tortoise shell plaques are perforated at the lower edge, suggesting that small ornaments were suspended from them. An ornament of white beard (*pavahina*) was usually attached to the center of the *packea* band and projected above it.

The materials used in the *packaha* were all obtained locally. Two varieties of tortoise shell bearing turtles were distinguished by the natives, the shell of one species being thick and easily worked, and that of the other thin and brittle. No method of cementing the plates together seems to have been known, and the way in which the tortoise shell plaques were bent has been forgotten. Tortoise shell was highly valued by the natives, and the white traders [177] met the demand by importing brown sheet celluloid. Many of the *packaha* in American col-

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6



festival place where admiring friends and relatives were gathered to view them. There, two large drums *(pahu anaana)* and three small ones *(tutu)* were beaten, the *opou* marching with the *ka'ioi* around the paved area to show his designs. While two men and two women danced, the *ka'ioi* accompanied them with handclapping and the chanting of a *putu* or special chant for the *oho'au patu tiki*. In an unpublished manuscript Dordillon and Père Pierre state that at this feast a human victim was sacrificed and eaten. When a man gave a feast in celebration of his wife's acquisition of a bit of tattooing, as Langsdorff reports was sometimes done (10, p. 121), she was allowed to eat hog's flesh as a very special privilege.

304x [534] [533] [262]

## THE DESIGN

Any attempt today to make a first-hand study of tattooing design must be based upon the examination of not more than a hundred and twenty-five persons who are the only living examples of the practice and whose designs represent for the most part a late development of the art, and upon their explanations and descriptions, and those of the single surviving practitioner of the art, whose actual practice ceased many years ago. The practice was forbidden by the French in 1884 and the edict was enforced as strictly as possible from that time on in the group of Nuku Hiva and Ua Pou, where the government was in occupation. On Hiva Oa, Tahu Ata, Fatu Hiva, and Ua Huka, the practice continued some years thereafter in the absence of authority to abolish it. As a consequence, one finds in the northwestern group that the majority of examples is the work of *tuhuna* of the southeastern islands, a few very old people, alone, representing that of the former islands. Just as these northwestern natives now living went surreptitiously to *tuhuna* of the other group to be tattooed upon parts of the body that would not show beneath their clothes, so in the southeastern group those who continued the practice after the prohibition was actually enforced there, about twenty-five years later than in the more closely espionaged islands, were decorated chiefly upon the legs from hips to ankles where dress or trousers would cover the pattern. Gradually, even this practice ceased, and today the only tattooing that is done is now and then of names in print upon the arm. It will be seen from this, that only upon very old people can anything approaching a full suit of tattooing be seen. Though there is but one man living who, as far as I know, might be called fully tattooed, still there are to be found on different subjects designs for practically all parts of the body originally covered. There still remain several women fully tattooed, probably for the reason that their designs are less conspicuous. The plates herewith

304x 177

8: Handy T-5 (1920-1921)1922 OX6 Marquesas OX6



represent about as full a collection as could be obtained today of the tattoo designs of the Marquesas. What may be learned of the history and meaning of the art from the study of these designs may be of interest.

The parts of the body ornamented differ today, as they have always, for men and women, a complete suit of tattooing for the men (Pl. 1) covering the crown of the head (Pl. v, 9), face (Pls. III, IV, V) including the eyelids, often the inside of the nostrils, tongue, palms and back of the hand (Pls. VIII, *A;* XI, *C),* arms (Pls. XII-XIII), legs (Pls. XXIX-XXXVIII), and the entire trunk (Pl. XIV) but not the penis, which all save one of our modern informants deny ever to have been tattooed. (See also: 15, p. 16; 4, p. 14; 5, p. 232; 14, pp. 78, 114; 11, p. 111; 10, pp. 122-123; 8, p. 155; 17, p. 306; 13, pp. 83-84, 90-91; 18, p. 222.) At the present day, the one man who might be said to be fully tattooed or *moho,* is lacking the crown piece, save for a section, and the tongue and palm coverings. From the earliest times accounts such as those of Cook, Marchand, Langsdorff, Krusenstern, Melville, Berchon and Porter note the simpler decoration of the women, G. Forster observing none on them. On the bodies of women observed today, patterns are found on the lips running back to the base of the gums (Pls. II, *A;* VI, *A),* on the ear lobes, behind the ears (Pl. VI, *C;* Porter, p. 114), on the curve of the shoulder (Pl. VI, *B;* see also 13, p. 95; 6, p. 132), on the lower back of which but one example remains, as far as known (Pl. XV), on the hands (Pls. VII-XI) and on the legs from the buttocks down (Pls. XVI-XXVIII). One old woman of Nuku Hiva describes the tattooing on women as covering also, formerly, the whole length of the arms on the inside, the buttocks, and the abdomen. She, as well as all others living today, declares that the vulva was never tattooed, although one woman reports a girdle that came around in front.

Various reasons are given for covering different parts of the body. The decorated hand was noticeable in kneading and eating *popoi.* The under-arm pattern made a fine showing when the arms were uplifted to strike with the war club. Shoulder and chest decorations were displayed when men walked with arms crossed behind the back. Circular motives on the inside of the knees were in evidence when men sat cross-legged. The inside thighs where the loin cloth hung and covered them were often left vacant.

There are numerous indications both in the types of design to be seen today and in descriptions and stories of natives and of visitors to the islands, that fashion in this mode of decoration was no exception to the rule of fashion's fickleness. There are to be seen naturalistic, geometric, and conventional motives, both symmetrically and irregularly arranged; there are stories of inter-island exchange of motives and of

/10 cont./

At childbirth the Marquesan woman is quite free to indulge 844
in histrionics if she wishes, although some prefer to endure in [152]
stony silence as the majority of injuries and illnesses are endured. Crying and shouting are permissible, however, a very common theme being: 'E na 'ua mate 'ua! (I'm dying!), followed by: 'aue, or: 'aue ho'i 'e (alas).

The position of the woman during delivery seems to be a relatively variable affair. In one birth at which we assisted, the wife sat on the floor with legs drawn up on a dirty dress with her back against a sandalwood chest, upon which the husband [352]
sat. She leaned her head back between his thighs and, extending her arms upward, locked her fingers /11/ behind his neck. He bent over her, pushing downward on her stomach with both hands rhythmically. In other instances the women recline completely for delivery, a practice probably resulting from [177]
contact with infirmary routine. One unusual case was reported in which the woman stood, bent over and leaning on a window sill. This experiment was followed by a severe hemorrhage, nearly resulting in death.

The umbilical cord (te aho) is milked, tied with twine and cut, usually with scissors or a knife. As these implements have [412]
rarely been cleaned for the occasion, not to mention being sterilized, it is not infrequent that infections of the umbilicus result. At least one infant fatality was attributable to this [165]
cause during our stay in Hatiheu (5 months).

The delivery of the afterbirth (pu henua) is not facilitated by massage of the fundus. Those who deliver in the sitting position remain so, until the afterbirth is expelled. Should the afterbirth be delayed, the woman is taken by both arms and legs and shaken violently until the afterbirth comes. This is often followed by a slight hemorrhage.

The afterbirth is taken out after delivery and buried in an area such as the wash house, where it will be constantly damp, [825]
the dampness is presumed to keep away ants which would [753]
normally devour the tissues should it merely be buried. If ants do attack the afterbirth, it is believed that the infant will suffer [178]
an eye infection. Many families today, however, merely

/26 cont./ rationale. Certain deviate individuals have refused to undergo circumcision, possibly /27/ as a concession to campaigns carried on by some French missionaries to stamp out the practice. One entire family in Taiohae has traditionally refused to be circumcised. Many males of this family have ultimately yielded to intense social pressure from their male friends, and also from their wives, being circumcised finally in their late twenties. Much of this pressure is exerted in the form of constant oblique joking about circumcision and people who are unclean. In the case of the wives, however, more direct pressure can be exerted. Their requests are usually in the form: "Why aren't you like other men?"

Circumcision in the Marquesas involves a very loose approximation to the true meaning of the term, for the operation involves a longitudinal incision through the foreskin on the dorsal aspect of the glans penis (po'ama).

A group of boys are gathered together and circumcised at one time by an individual who specializes in this operation. It is often attempted to have a relative of the parents generation perform the operation. No attempt is made to anesthetize the locale of the incision. The foreskin is stretched tightly over a slip of bamboo which has been inserted between it and the glans, while the incision is made with a razor blade or knife. Recently, scissors have come into vogue in Taiohae, as it is said that they make a much cleaner incision. In the aboriginal past, incisions were made with bamboo knives.

/28/ After circumcision, a medicinal preparation is applied to speed healing of the incision and prevent infection. This consists of the astringent juice of the candle-nut tree bark ('ama = A. trilobita) and the leaves of the kaka'a hue (Diellia Brownii). (Two other plants are also used but we could not identify them.) This is applied daily after bathing, at which time the area around the wound is carefully cleaned; then the penis is placed with the dorsal side against a sun-heated stream boulder until it is dried. The heat from the stream boulder is believed to have a beneficial effect on the healing process.

/34/

After puberty, males usually have their first complete heterosexual experience. This most often occurs with an older married woman in her thirties or forties and frequently in the context of serial intercourse, in which the woman will receive a number of young boys in rapid succession. Groups of boys visit the houses of most of the married women during the temporary absences of their husbands. At such times, the uninitiated boys will often be invited to participate, and the women take special pains to be pleasing and patient with them. Most adult men look back quite fondly on their first sexual partner, expressing amusement at their own inexperienced bungling. This pattern of behavior, in which older women initiate the young males and serve as the object of serial intercourse for groups of boys, is adhered to quite closely and is apparently a source of enjoyment for most Marquesan women. The highly virile attentions of the younger males provide a marked contrast to typical marital sexual relations, as well as being a source of some amusement to the older women.

The post-pubertal boy is quite quickly drawn into one of a number of male groups called collectively taure'a re'a (Tahitian: meaning "those who paint themselves with turmeric). These groups prowl at night, visiting the houses of the unmarried girls and temporarily solitary married women. In the evening before supper, the preparations for night forays are quite elaborate: very careful bathing, following by dousing with perfume or coconut oil and heavy applications of commercial pomade to the /35/ hair. Flowers are worn behind the ear, flashlights are an absolute must (the large, heavy variety being preferred), and guitars are often carried. As soon as darkness falls, these groups meet in prearranged places along the main paths in the valley to sing and talk for a few hours before starting on a tour of the houses. A great deal of information is exchanged at this time as to the whereabouts of various married males, and unmarried girls. Night fishing expeditions take the men away, leaving their wives available, and girls frequently have gatherings analogous to small "pajama-parties." These factors obviously affect the prospects

/39 cont./

| Marquesan | | Uhi tua |
|---|---|---|
| pehea 'oe? | (where are you going) | peheiherea o'oe'oroe |
| makimaki | (want or desire) | ma'i ma'i maraki |
| to'e | (clitoris) | to'i to'etoroe |
| eue | (erect penis) | e'ui'urue |
| pipirio | (vulva) | pi'i pi'i pirio |
| tea tea | (semen) | teate'i terea |

198 522 834 883

Also used in joking exchanges are secret nicknames which are not usually known by the person to whom they are applied. Thus, an individual may be discussed in very derogatory fashion in his very presence. Much mocking impersonation is also used, as the Marquesans are inclined to study minor idiosyncracies in order to be able to mimic their possessor. [551]

Female coyness at chance encounters with groups of boys often results in what amounts to athletic contests. A group of girls will approach a group /40/ of boys on a path and shout some type of insults. The boys will respond and try to stop the girls, who run and hide. The boys then run after them but do not catch up. The girls run again and again the boys give chase. Finally, the girls when overtaken act as though nothing had happened, and display a somewhat arrogant attitude toward the boys. 834 883 883

Soccer has been introduced by missionaries as a recreation with the added hoped-for benefit that it will prove fatiguing enough to cut down nocturnal activity. In each valley, formal adult teams are organized but children and adolescents play also, usually on Sundays after church. The same kind of rough joking insults and athletic competitiveness between potential sexual partners is to be noted in these games. Boys often become sexually aroused to the point of complete erection of the penis, which serves as a further source of jokes and banter. No real attempts are made to hide the erection and the boy will continue playing. I once witnessed a boy play soccer for nearly two hours with a constant erection, in front of the church in Hatiheu. 526 832 [177] [197]

Although the everyday public contacts between boys and girls are marked by the indifference and genemally rough conduct 832 883

/42 cont./

Oral stimulation of the genitalia before or during copulation is not practiced by the majority of adolescents. It is regarded with some disgust. A great deal of joking between male adults and youngsters revolves around cunnilinctus (kai ma te to'e). Youngsters are often asked if they have performed cunnilinctus on a particular girl: when a negative response is given, with some expression of disgust, the statement is made that the boy knows nothing of sexual techniques but should not be afraid to experiment. A common statement which was almost a slogan was: E aha te ha'a metau? E kiko 'en ana! -- (What is there to be afraid of? It's (only) Marquesan meat!" Another slogan of this type, like the last, attributed to a living or still remembered "sage" was 'O te to'e te kai 'o te hakaiki -- "the clitoris is the food of the chief." Most girls are equally repelled by the suggestion of fellatio (kai 'i te pia), although it is seldom attempted by the adolescent males, who do not seem to consider the possibility to be too interesting, maintaining that it is devoid of the body movements (tamure -- from the Tahitian dance of the same name featuring pelvic motion resembling that of intercourse) that play a large role in the enjoyment of the sex act.

/43/The boy usually removes his shorts but often leaves on his shirt. The girl will usually lift her skirt and may open her blouse slightly. The position of intercourse is almost invariably with the girl in a supine position with her legs flexed and apart, and the boy braced on his hands over her. Variant positions are seldom tried, for as one informant remarked: "The result is the same, no matter how you do it!" Once the penis is introduced, pelvic motion by both parties begins, continuing until orgasms are experienced. Marquesan girls apparently have practically no difficulty in experiencing orgasms; they are apparently able to attain orgasm after a relatively small number of sexual experiences, learning to control it quite quickly so that they will reach the climax with the partner. A number of words are used to refer to various aspects of the sexual climax. Manini (lit. sweet) refers mainly to the sensation of pleasure, release and well-being attendant upon orgasm and ejaculation. Hakate'a literally means: "make

/43 cont./ 192 833
semen" thus referring to the event of ejaculation, but also possessing an overtone of the psychological aspects expressed by manini. Both of these terms are not the most polite usage, especially in mixed company, or in the presence of respect-evoking kin or nonrelated strangers in which case pao (finish) is used as a substitute. In the southern group of the Marquesas archipelago, two words are in use which appear to have been influenced by missionaries or at least developed as circumlocutions because of the presence of missionaries. These are pe (rotten) and hau hau (bad) both referring to the state of orgasm. [602] [609] [177] [797]

/44/ In orgasm, it is considered improper for the girl to make any signs of great excitement, except for sharply increased respiration and increasing muscular tension. For a girl to make any sounds beyond vocalized glottal explosives of medium strength is considered a sign of promiscuous tendencies and may earn her the title of vehine mako. At the climax a girl usually draws the boy a little closer to her, exerting pressure on the sacrum or drawing on the buttocks. 833

The sex act seldom takes more than five minutes, usually somewhat less. Immediately afterward, the girl goes to the water supply and washes her genitalia carefully, attempting to remove the semen digitally. The boy then washes also. Intercourse usually occurs two or three times in this fashion, in rapid succession, if time is available. Should the union be condoned by parents frequency is much higher, often surpassing ten contacts per night.

Intercourse with the "promiscuous" girl takes a somewhat different pattern. This is due to the fact that these girls have derived a great deal of their experience from older Marquesan males and strangers who patronize them quite frequently. As was noted previously, a young girl most frequently has her first experience with an older male. For some girls, sporadic contact with older men continues, and a characteristic of the promiscuous girl is her availability to the old as well as young, which is not the case in normal Marquesan behavior patterns. Further sources of experience for the promiscuous girl are the strangers, both Polynesian and European, arriving continually in the islands. Male /45/ strangers are directed to the promiscuous 836 833 836 [648]

/61 cont./

Marriage

After a youth of experimentation, Marquesans usually narrow their interest to one member of the opposite sex, settling down to an informal marital relationship, which is accorded community acceptance and recognition, without any more formalized ceremony than a request to the parents of the girl by the prospective husband. This relationship is called no ho -- "staying or remaining (with someone)." Often another introduced term is used -- matiri'ia -- "married," to which is added 'i te ha'e pure -- "in church," to differentiate those unions with the approval of the clergy.

Although this rather informal relationship is still most common, two factors have produced a recent increase in church marriages. First, an increased knowledge of rudimentary French law on the part of the natives has resulted in the use of French legal procedures to force marriage on recalcitrant suitors. Parents assume an attitude of righteous indignation when a daughter is caught en flagrante or is misled by promises of marriage, and make complaints to government authorities to assuage their wounded honor. Secondly, the church itself has placed great emphasis on a program with the goal of sanctifying all existing unions and all those to come.

Therefore, if a couple's relationship should become obvious to the public, or if parents should feel that a daughter has been cheated in any /62/ way, the chances are quite high that religious and civil pressures, as well as social pressure, will be exerted to make the union a formal one.

As a result of church influence, a couple may be forced into formalizing a long-standing union, which otherwise would have functioned as well as any which did not obtain church blessing.

With or without formalization, separations are not infrequent, especially in the first years of a union. In the absence of legal marriage, one or the other partner merely departs. If there are children, they are divided among parents, in-laws, and friends, depending on the circumstances. The

/62 cont./ The dissolution of a legal marriage entails much more difficulty, however, usually resulting in the defecting member leaving the immediate locale, perhaps to take up residence in a distant valley, preferably one not served by the missionary who officiated at the marriage. In such cases, property division may become quite difficult, due to missionary intervention preventing divorce and stringent French laws regarding apportionment of property.

There are a variety of socially acceptable, institutionalized ways of extending marital sexual prerogatives beyond the realm of the nuclear family. One of these, polygamy, is found infrequently at present, although both historical and ethnographic sources indicate that it was most common in the past. Polygyny was definitely noted in one instance, in which a male had three wives: two informal unions and a final legal union. The wives remained in separate houses while the legal mate, a /63/ younger girl, resided with the husband. This case was rather well-known to the natives but scrupulously hidden from the missionaries. The support of three wives, a heavy burden for most, was made possible in this case by the wealth of the husband who owned an entire valley, in which a group of quasi-slave tenant workers and relatives labored. Several other apparently polygynous unions were observed; but no definite information could be obtained, due to the native's fear of exposure to French government and mission authorities.

Polyandry is not found at present in the Marquesas, in the form in which it previously existed in the aboriginal culture. That is, only the promiscuous girls cohabit simultaneously with more than one husband. The typical pattern is monogamous cohabitation.

Sexual hospitality is still in evidence, although in much diminished frequency from the aboriginal condition. It is a privilege extended to friends and people of prestige for the purpose of placing a reciprocal obligation, raising the prestige of the lesser of the husbands involved. During the early months of our 1957 visit to Nuku Hiva, we received three invitations to participate in such relationships.

/71 cont./

and esoteric terms for sexual matters are constantly being produced, mainly by the unmarried males, it would appear. These /72/ are employed with the anticipation that the uninitiated listeners will be completely deluded.

Some examples of esoteric sexual terms have already been given (see the list of synonyms for the verb "to copulate," p. 47). The development of a few others will be presented here. The Kendal Oil Co. commercial, given nightly over Radio Tahiti, provided the material for a new term. The word "Kendal" came to be used as a verb, "to ejaculate," and nominalized to mean "semen."

In another case, the adolescents of Hatiheu were swimming off the dock in that bay. The boys discovered that several of the girls, swimming in skirts, wore no undergarments, and proceeded to dive below the girls who were treading water, and look up their dresses for a glimpse of their genitals. The girls quickly noticed the submarine observers and demanded to know what they were looking for. A boy quickly responded that they were searching for puta'a ta'a (Murex ramosus) shells. From then on, the Hatiheu esotericism for vulva was puta'a ta'a.

Among company of a single sex, the restraints on conversation are relaxed, with tapu expressions being used, except in the cases where individuals standing in certain respect relations to the speaker, such as a brother-in-law, or father, are present. In such situations, those sharing respect relationships will refrain from conversation of a baldly sexual nature.

"Obscenity" in the Marquesan tongue has changed considerably over the years, as a result of outside contact, both with other Polynesians /73/ and with Europeans. During the first three decades of this century, the aboriginal obscenities were still in use. These were most often directed at an individual's pride in status and personal cleanliness, rather than referring to sexual matters.

/73 cont./

## Aboriginal Obscenities

192
831

| | |
|---|---|
| 'u moeka | sleeping mat (regarded as a particularly vicious expression, as the sleeping mat was the lowest thing in a house, being walked on by everyone) |
| kio'e pe | "rotten or decayed rat" |
| 'upoko pe | "rotten or decayed head" (the head was the seat of supernatural power) [826] |
| 'o'o pe | "rotten or decayed brain" |
| to roro! | "Your brain!" |

At present, such terms absolutely fail to evoke any reaction among younger Marquesans and even older individuals [178] do not regard them as seriously as they did 20 years ago. The 192 coarse language of the modern Marquesas, more concerned with 177 sexual matters, has assumed a certain European, if not down- 831 right Anglo-Saxon flavor. The verb "to copulate" -- titoi -- is used as in an exclamatory fashion, much the same way as our four-letter equivalent. It is not used adjectivally or nominally as in English, however. The same verb, titoi, is also used in its Tahitian meaning -- to draw back the foreskin -- with an appropriate hand motion. The Marquesan synonym pauheke (or paupauheke -- to masturbate) is /74/ also employed in the same fashion. All of the above are used as expressions of [578] annoyance and are regarded as grave insults when uttered in the context of an argument. Such terms are used frequently in non-mixed company, in jest, however, without provoking any wrath.

Marquesan obscenity also reflects the heavy concentra- 192 tion on genital hygiene so characteristic of the culture. Ap- 831 pellations of pi'au'ota (your stinking foreskin), hoki i te mimi [181] (smells like urine); or pi'au i te puta keo (stinking anus) are common and considered to be quite grave.

There is a great deal of Marquesan folklore about the 186 personal hygiene of the French, and it is suspected, most other 515 649 white ethnic groups. [538]

/75 cont./ Having 192 602 831

been exposed to a certain amount of American obscenity, as a result of visits of American ships, both private and military, a number of Marquesans inquired as to the meaning of several of our more common expressions of this type. When these had been explained, they expressed considerable shock, almost verging on disbelief. One elderly person exclaimed that he now knew why the sailors of the U. S. S. Arkansas, which visited the /76/ islands in the '20's, had started to fight when one sailor used a term of this type in referring to another. [77]

## Venereal Disease

Venereal diseases are known among the Marquesans by the generic name of mate'uapu -- street sickness -- alluding to the fact that one "runs loose in the street" to contract the disease. (The term definitely appears to be a result of culture contact.) 164

Several types of diseases are distinguished on the basis of the syndrome manifested.

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|---|---|
| mimi hati | "broken urine" - gonorrhea 164 |
| hao'ehi | "white man's discharge" - probably lympho granuloma inquinale. Described as characterized by running sores around the genitalia, in the mouth. Epilation of the pubis and loss of finger and toe nails also occur if disease is not checked. 192 |
| pa'atita | "many ripe (things)" - probably syphilis, in primary stage, characterized by chancre on mouth and within. |

Syphilis is a relatively rare phenomenon in the Marquesas, by far the most common diseases being gonorrhea and lympho. During the entire period of field work in the Marquesas, only two individuals with the characteristic saddle-bridge nose of the advanced syphilitic were seen. One of these admitted to having contracted a venereal disease 164

/78 cont./ 757

These ingredients are brought together, pounded into a paste and mixed with the water (vai'ehi) of a black coconut ('ehi kei kei). The concoction is then drunk several times daily for three days.

| | |
|---|---|
| haika hao'ehi | "medicine for the white man's discharge" |
| te tupu o te puhipuhi | iron rust (usually scraped from nails that have been long exposed to sea water) 757 823 |
| vai hitoro | juice of the lime |

The iron rust is broken into small pieces and placed in the bottom of a bottle to a depth of about an inch. The remaining space in the bottle is then filled with lime juice. After allowing the mixture to stand two days with repeated shaking of the bottle, the liquid is applied to the open lesions, three times a day. Discharge supposedly stops in three days. In ten days the symptons will supposedly disappear. The Marquesans place great faith in this remedy. An individual that I knew very well /79/ reported that he had used it to recover from a very advanced case of hao'ehi, without any visible effects.

Other remedies, widely acclaimed throughout the islands were introduced by missionaries in the late nineteenth century. They were evidently patent medicines, once commercially available in France, but no longer found in Polynesia, as far as I could determine. These were: ehitoni (a reddish liquid) and mitihu'u (a pill). Their value may have been psychological mainly, as were some other mission medicines (holy water from Lourdes mixed with soil from the mission yard was regularly administered for tuberculosis and is still regarded by the natives as a first-rate curative!) 757 797 177

Another remedy collected in 1958 is for general venereal diseases, but the ingredients have not been identified and will not be included here. 757

The presence of venereal disease in the Marquesas may be traced to the early period of European contact. Mendana's 164 175

/91 cont./ 114
sturdy physique which usually involves larger breasts; never- 826
theless, breasts are of relatively small importance when com- 832
pared with genital qualities.

There is little data from earlier periods concerning the 175
prevalence of masturbation and other forms of sexual play 864
among children. Linton /92/ notes that mutual masturbation [114]
was practiced, labeling it "homosexuality" (1938, p. 168), [838]
which it is not for the culture in question. Linton also states
that sexual play was practiced from earliest ages, but is not
specific as to the practices involved.

Puberty

The behaviors and attitudes surrounding cleanliness and 515
especially genital cleanliness that characterize the Marquesan 193
culture today appear to have their roots in the aboriginal past. [183]
Marquesan legends (Handy 1928) make frequent reference to
the constant bathing practiced, especially by younger individ-
uals. Numerous references are also available to native [302]
cosmetics, flower wreaths, and herbal packages which were
used to reduce body odor (Handy 1923, pp. 289-298, Fr. S.
Delmas Ms in Taiohae Mission Library). While the present 302
emphasis on cleanliness is therefore an aboriginal survival, the 177
use of native cosmetics and deodorants has diminished con- [187]
siderably in the face of the easily available European cosmetics.
Missionary efforts were devoted to stamping out the use of [747]
'eka or turmeric, which was believed by the missionaries to
be inextricably associated with sexuality in the native eyes. [831]
As a consequence, it is never seen in use at present, except [263]
in food, where it is used as a flavoring.

Circumcision as it is currently practiced in the Marquesas 182
bears considerable resemblance to the aboriginal practices. 304
In the past as today, groups of boys were circumcised together;
the technique of the operation has remained unchanged, and
the modern native medical /93/ practices used to promote
healing are also recorded for the aboriginal period (Handy,
pp. 94-5). However, the entire complex of ceremonialism 881
and religious restrictions surrounding this event involving 182
seclusion, dietary restriction, and various other religious

/104 cont./
not interested in establishing permanent unions and had numerous suitors concurrently (Handy). /105/ There are, to be sure, a number of sexual practices current among girls of this category (and often prevalent in modern Marquesan culture in general) which appear to have been of European introduction. Among these are the so-called "wet kiss" and possibly Western type kissing in general, and a large number of idiosyncratic practices acquired through association with particular individuals. However, these last are relatively superficial, and do not greatly alter the complex of behavioral traits presented by the promiscuous girls. Thus, there are strong resemblances seen between the behavior pattern manifested by modern married adults and those in the category of promiscuous girls, and the picture of aboriginal Marquesan sexual behavior as reported in historical and ethnographic sources, meagre as these are.

There are further sexual behavior traits which have been reported for the Marquesas which are of a less certain nature and bear discussion at this point. Most outstanding of these is Linton's claim that the female was dominant in the sex act, directing the male to employ certain techniques which had as their goal her own excitation, and only allowing penis intercourse when she was excited to a high pitch (Linton 1938, p. 173). Linton claimed that orgasm was impossible for Marquesan females, without prolonged stimulation, and cited inorgasmic play in youth as a possible cause for the need for such stimulation. These claims are linked with Linton's belief that Marquesan women held effective power over the male contingent by the distribution of sexual favors (p. 158), and that the woman was valued primarily as a sexual object, making little or no contribution to the household except that /106/ of supplying sexual gratification for the husbands.

There is no evidence in the literature, both historical and ethnographic, to support the claims of female superiority in Marquesan culture. On the contrary, women made extensive economic contributions in the aboriginal past as they do today, and there is little reason to believe that the

/107 cont./ 114 562 833 [177]
basis for believing that this situation is the result of culture contact; if anything, the reverse might be expected on the basis of what we know of the spreading Christian morality. Furthermore, there are not, at present, any practices of inorgasmic play in evidence among Marquesan youths, nor is there any evidence of such a thing having existed. On the contrary, homosexual and solitary sexual outlets among [864] children undoubtedly were allowed in the past to culminate in orgasm from the time at which such an event was physiologically possible. This evidence, coupled with that of the short duration of the sex act and the frequency of serial intercourse episodes in which the girl submitted to as many as 40 males in succession, can hardly support an hypothesis of female dominance in the sex act, either for the aboriginal period or /108/ ethnographic present.

A final point concerning Marquesan sexual techniques 833 may be made. Linton stated that the sex act in the Marquesas was characterized by a considerably amount of scratching and biting by both partners. Some interesting information was elicited from informants on this particular point: scratching (nini'e), pinching (ki'i naku), and biting (moma, kai) were [115] reported by nearly all elderly informants as having been a technique employed only infrequently in premarital sexual [836] intercourse in the past, and especially with the community's promiscuous girls. When a male partner was known by a girl to have a semipermanent relationship with another girl or to be married, she might resort to scratching and biting to mark the man so that his deed would be quite obvious and he [837] would be afraid to return to his love or wife. Many informants viewed this as a nasty trick for a girl to play on a married man. With unmarried males, the scars of such [554] sexual encounters became symbols of prestige, however; furthermore, it was pointed out that young men would go to great lengths to find a girl that would treat them in this fashion and they would take every opportunity to display their wounds to admiring comrades.

The homosexual activity which begins at an early age 182 in both sexes at present was apparently characteristic of 838